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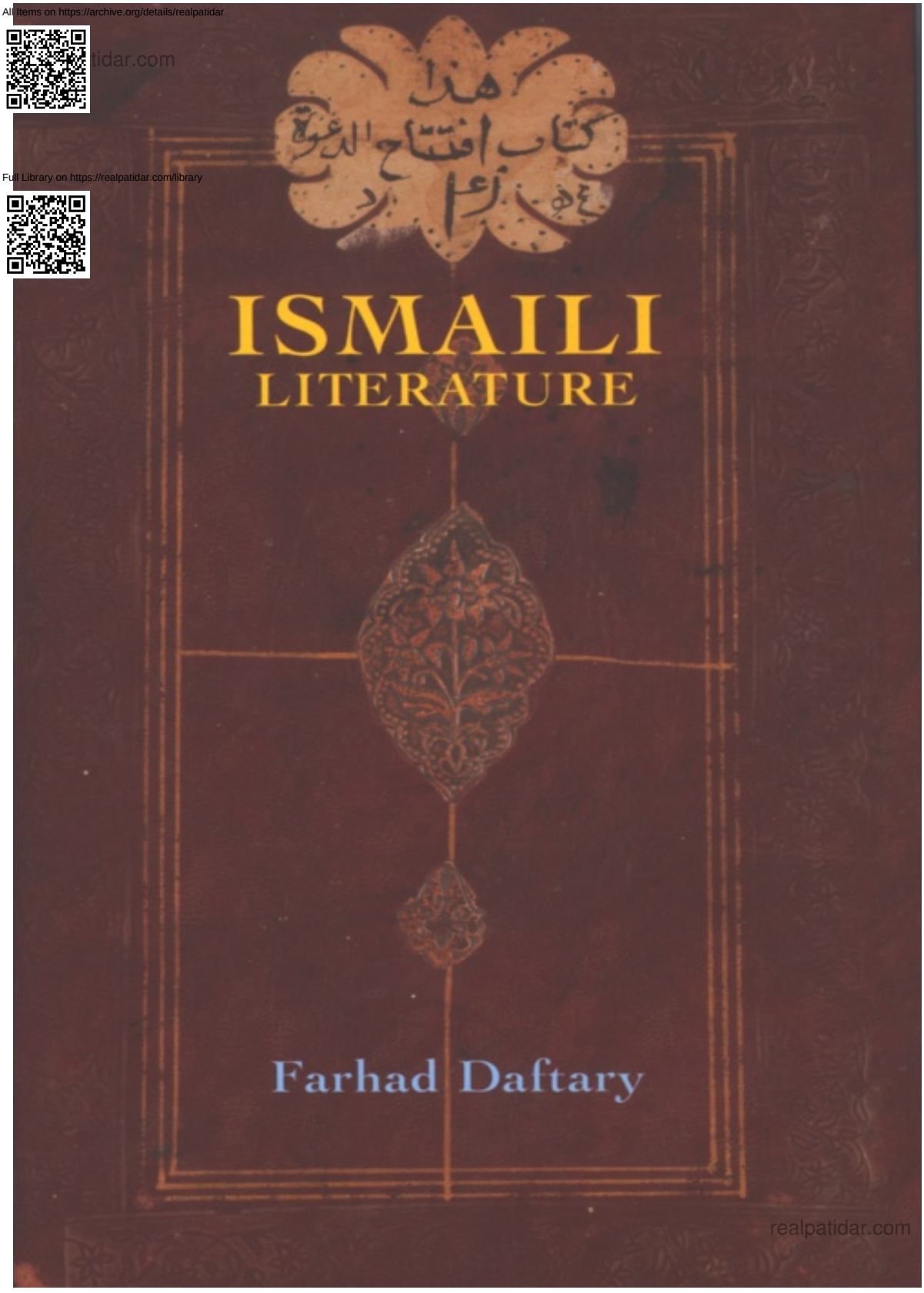

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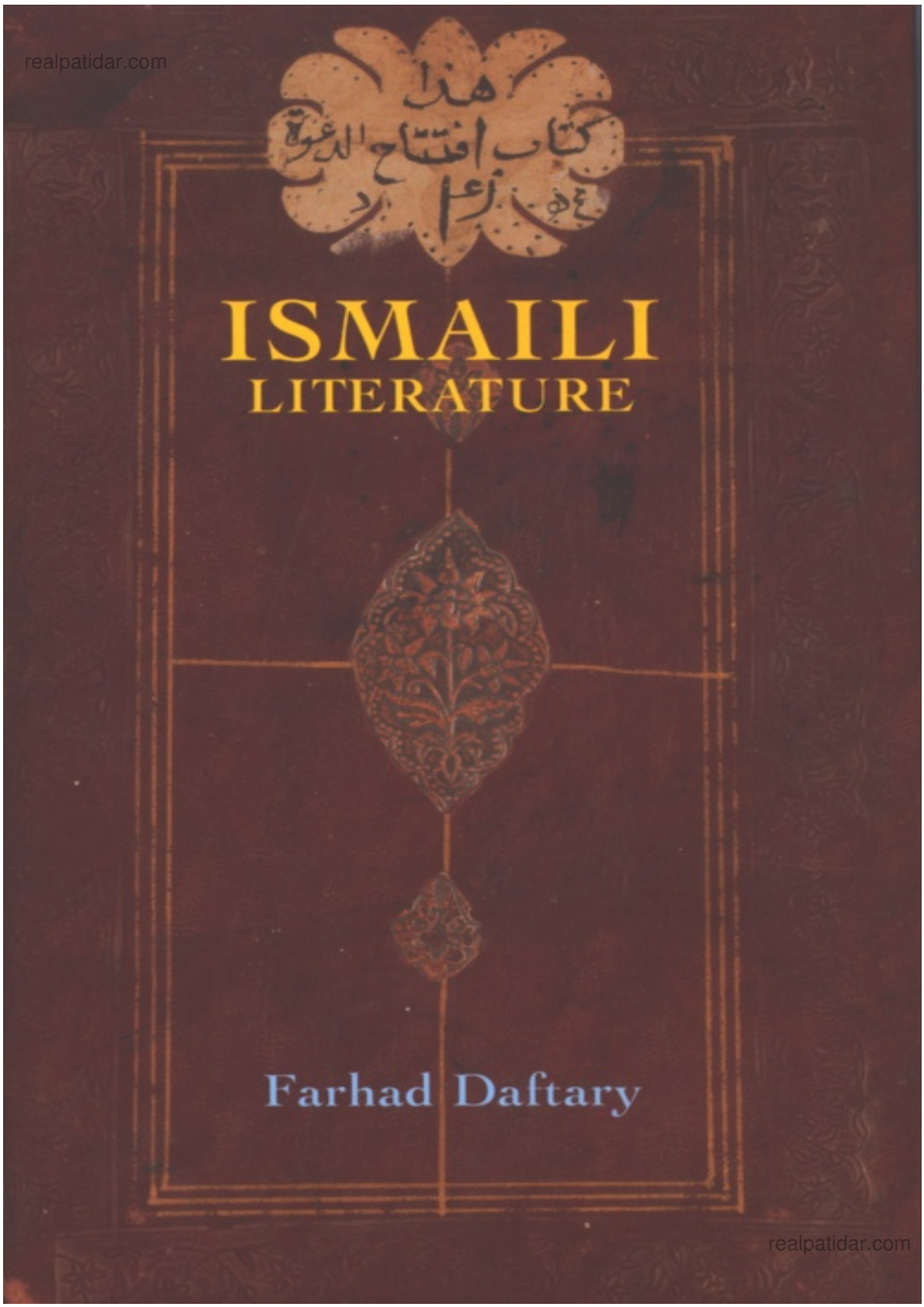

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which was preserved and used extensively by the Ṭayyibī Ismailis. Of all the Nizārī communities, only the Syrians were able to preserve a certain number of the Arabic texts of the classical Ismaili literature.

In the light of these problems, further progress here would require the acquisition of better understanding of the historical developments as well as the religious and literary traditions of major Nizārī communities of this period, especially those in South Asia and different parts of the Iranian world. The Nizārī Ismaili literature of the post-Alamūt period can be classified into four main categories, namely, the Persian, the Badakhshānī or Central Asian, the Syrian, and the South Asian or the *ginān* literature. The Nizārī sources produced in Persia, Afghanistan and the upper Oxus region are written entirely in the Persian language, while the Syrian texts are in Arabic. The Nizārīs of South Asia, designated as Khojas, who elaborated a distinctive Ismaili tradition known as Satpanth or 'true path', have used various Indian languages in committing their doctrines to writing in the form of devotional hymns known as *ginān*s and using the Khojkī script developed by themselves.

The Nizārīs of Persia and adjacent regions did not produce any doctrinal works during the earliest post-Alamūt centuries. Only the versified works of Ḥakīm Sa'd al-Dīn Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 720/1320), a poet and government functionary from Bīrjand in south-eastern Khurāsān, remain extant from that period. He was perhaps also the first post-Alamūt Nizārī author to have chosen verse and Sufi forms of expression to conceal his Ismaili ideas, a model adopted by later Nizārī authors in Persia. The revival of the *da'wa* activities during the Anjudān period also encouraged the literary activities of the community, and a number of better educated Persian Nizārīs began to produce the first doctrinal works of the period. The earliest amongst these authors were Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498), and Khayrkhwāh-i Harātī (d. after 960/1553), a *dā'ī* and poet who visited the contemporary Nizārī imam in Anjudān. The writings of these authors contain important historical references as well. Amongst later authors, mention may be made of the poet Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī (d. after 1056/1646) and his son 'Alī Qulī, better known as Raqqāmī Khurāsānī; they, too, resorted to poetry and Sufi expressions. More doctrinal works by Persian Nizārī authors appeared during the 13th/19th century and later times, marking a modern revival

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and Qadmūs, remained loyal to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, and are still awaiting the reappearance of their imam. In modern times, ʿĀrif Tāmir (1921–1998), a Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārī, and Muṣṭafā Ghālib (1923–1981), a Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī, have written extensively on the history of the Syrian Nizārī Ismailis in addition to producing editions (alas often defective) of many Arabic Ismaili texts.

The Nizārī Khojas of the Indian subcontinent, as noted, elaborated their own literary tradition in the form of the *ginān*s, containing a diversity of mystical, mythological, didactic, cosmological and eschatological themes.[71] Many *ginān*s contain ethical and moral instructions for the conduct of religious life and guiding the spiritual quest of the believer. As an oral tradition, some *ginān*s also relate anachronistic, hagiographic and legendary accounts of the activities of *pīr*s, as the chief *dāʿī*s in India were called, and their converts; and, as such, they are not generally reliable as historical sources. The *ginān*s are composed in verse form and are meant to be sung and recited melodically. The earlier Ismaili literature, produced in Arabic and Persian, was not until recently available to the Khojas. The authorships of the *ginān*s are attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and a few other early *pīr*s. Originally transmitted orally, the *ginān*s began to be collected and recorded from the 10th/16th century. The *ginān*s exist in a mixture of Indian languages, including Sindhī, Gujarātī, Hindī, Panjābī and Multānī. The bulk of the recorded corpus of the *ginān* literature, comprised of about one thousand separate compositions, has survived in the specific Khojkī script developed and used extensively by the Nizārī Khojas. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of *ginān*s have been published in India.

Drawing mainly on the *ginān*s and their oral traditions, the Nizārī Khojas and related communities like the Imām-Shāhīs compiled a few historical works in Gujarātī during the nineteenth century. There also appeared the *Noorum Mobin* (1935) of Alimahomed J. Chunara (1881–1966), which was treated for several decades as the quasi-official history of the Nizārī Khojas. In more recent times, a number of Khojas have studied various aspects of their Satpanth tradition and its literature. Foremost among such scholars, mention should be made of Azim Nanji, Ali S. Asani, Aziz Esmail, Zawahir Moir (Noorally) and Tazim Kassam. At the same time, several European scholars, notably Françoise Mallison and Dominique-Sila Khan, have contributed to

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of the few extant Muḥammad-Shāhī texts composed in India around 1110/1698, the author (a certain Ghulām ʿAlī b. Muḥammad) conceals his Ismaili ideas under the double cover of Twelver Shiʿi and Sufi expressions; he eulogizes the Ithnāʿasharī imams whilst also alluding to the Nizārī imams of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line.

Meanwhile, the second Safawid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp persecuted the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārīs of Anjudān and had their thirty-sixth imam, Murād Mīrzā, executed in 981/1574. By the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I (995–1038/1587–1629), the Persian Nizārīs, too, had successfully adopted Twelver Shiʿism as a second form of disguise, which was now widely adopted by the Qāsim-Shāhī Nizārī imams and their followers in Persia and adjacent lands.[80] By the end of the 11th/17th century, the Qāsim-Shāhī *daʿwa* had gained the allegiance of the bulk of the Nizārīs at the expense of the Muḥammad-Shāhīs. The *daʿwa* had been particularly successful in Afghanistan, Central Asia and several regions of the Indian subcontinent.

In South Asia, the Hindu converts originally belonging to the Lohana caste, became known as Khoja, derived from the Persian word *khwāja*, an honorary title meaning lord or master corresponding to the Hindi term *thākur* by which the Lohanas were addressed. As noted, the Nizārī Khojas developed a religious tradition, known as Satpanth or the 'true path' (to salvation), as well as a devotional literature, the *ginān*s. The earliest Nizārī *pīr*s, missionaries or preacher-saints, operating in India concentrated their efforts in Sind. Pīr Shams al-Dīn is the earliest figure specifically associated in the *ginān* literature with the commencement of the Nizārī *daʿwa* there. By the time of Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, a great-grandson of Pīr Shams, the *pīr*s in India had established a hereditary dynasty. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, who died around the turn of the 9th/15th century, consolidated and organized the *daʿwa* in India; he is also credited with building the first *jamāʿat-khāna* (literally, community house), in Kotri, Sind, for the religious and communal activities of the Khojas. In India, too, the Nizārīs developed close relations with Sufism. Multān and Ucch in Sind, in addition to serving as centres of Satpanth *daʿwa* activities, were the headquarters of the Suhrawardī and Qādirī Sufi orders. Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, who reportedly visited the Nizārī Imam Mustanṣir bi'llāh (II) in Anjudān. Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn's brother Tāj al-Dīn was evidently the last person appointed as *pīr* by the Nizārī

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imams who were then making systematic efforts to end the hereditary authority of the *pīr*s in India.

Periodically the Khojas experienced internal dissensions, while many reverted back to Hinduism or converted to Sunnism, the dominant religions of the contemporary Indo-Muslim society. It was under such circumstances that a group of Nizārī Khojas of Gujarāt seceded and recognized the imamate of Nar Muḥammad (d. 940/1533); they became known as Imām-Shāhīs, named after Nar Muḥammad's father Imām Shāh (d. 919/1513), one of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn's sons who had attempted in vain to become a *pīr* in Sind. The Imām-Shāhīs, who produced their own *ginān* literature and split into several groups following different *pīr*s, soon denied any connections with Ismailism. Meanwhile, in the absence of *pīr*s, the Nizārī imams maintained their contacts with the Khoja community through lesser functionaries known as *wakīl*s or *bābā*s. The origins and early development of the indigenous form of Ismailism known as Satpanth on the Indian subcontinent remain obscure. In particular, it is not clear whether Satpanth Ismailism resulted from the conversion policies developed locally by the early *pīr*s who operated in India at least from the 7th/13th century, or whether it represented a tradition that had evolved gradually over several centuries dating further back, possibly even to Fatimid times. Be that as it may, Satpanth Ismailism may be taken to represent an indigenous tradition reflecting certain historical, social, cultural and political circumstances prevailing in the medieval Indian subcontinent, especially in Sind. On the evidence of the *ginān*s, it seems plausible that the *pīr*s did attempt ingeniously to maximize the appeal of their message to a Hindu audience of mainly rural and uneducated lower castes. Hence, they turned to Indian vernaculars, rather than Arabic and Persian used by the educated classes. And for the same reasons, they used Hindu idioms and mythology, interfacing their Islamic and Ismaili tenets with myths, images and symbols already familiar to the Hindus. The teachings of Satpanth Ismailism are clearly reflected in the *ginān* literature.[81]

In the meantime, with the fortieth Qāsim-Shāhī imam, Shāh Nizār (d. 1134/1722), the seat of this branch of the Nizārī *daʿwa*, then representing the only branch in Persia, was transferred from Anjudān to the nearby village of Kahak, in the vicinity of Qumm and Maḥallāt, effectively ending the Anjudān period in post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismailism.

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some of his unpublished work, were collected in his *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism* (1983). Professor Madelung clarified many obscure aspects of early Ismailism in two seminal articles;[43] and, among his many later contributions to the field, he summed up the current state of research on Ismaili history in his article 'Ismāʿīliyya', written for the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Progress in Ismaili studies has proceeded at a rapid pace during the last few decades through the efforts of yet another generation of scholars such as Pio Filippani-Ronconi, Ismail K. Poonawala, Heinz Halm, Paul E. Walker, Azim Nanji, Thierry Bianquis, Michael Brett, Yaacov Lev, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Farhat Dachraoui and Mohammed Yalaoui, some of whom have devoted their attention mainly to Fatimid studies. The progress in the recovery and study of Ismaili literature is well reflected in Professor Poonawala's monumental *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature* (1977), which identifies some 1300 titles written by more than 200 authors. This progress has received further impetus from the recovery, or accessibility, of yet more Ismaili manuscripts. For instance, hundreds of Ismaili manuscripts preserved by the Nizārīs of Tajik Badakhshān were recovered during 1959–63,[44] and in the 1990s many more manuscripts were identified in Shughnān and other districts of the same region through the efforts of The Institute of Ismaili Studies. Many Ismaili texts have now been published in critical editions, while numerous secondary studies of Ismaili history and thought have been produced by at least three successive generations of scholars. Meanwhile, the Satpanth Ismaili tradition of the Nizārī Khojas, as reflected in the *ginān* literature, has provided yet another highly specialized area within Ismaili studies. In particular, A. Nanji and Ali Asani have made valuable contributions here. There are also those newcomers to the field, such as Pieter Smoor, Daniel de Smet, Christian Jambet, Michel Boivin and Paula Sanders, who are already making contributions to different aspects of Ismailism.

Scholarship in Ismaili studies is set to continue at an ever greater pace as the Ismailis themselves are becoming increasingly interested in studying their literary heritage and history – a phenomenon attested by the growing number of Ismaili-related doctoral dissertations written in recent decades by Ismailis. In this context, a major contribution is made by The Institute of Ismaili Studies, established in London in 1977 by H.H. Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, the present imam of the

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Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, Pīr (d. ca. 875/1470), Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India

- *Ginān*s, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 109–111; also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South A*sia, pp. 97, 99, 127, 129, 137, 139; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 106–107, 121, 126, 133, 181–185, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 153–159, 165–166.

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāḥ (d. 518/1124), Ismaili *dāʿī* and founder of the Nizārī *daʿwa* and state in Persia

- *al-Fuṣūl al-arbaʿa* (*Fuṣūl-i arbaʿa*), fragmentarily quoted by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī in his *Kitāb al-milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed., William Cureton. London: Printed for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, 1842, part 1, pp. 150–152; on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-fiṣal fi'l-milal wa'l-ahwā' wa'l-niḥal*. Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Adabiyya, 1317–21/1899–1903, part 2, pp. 32–36; reprinted (with the same pagination), Rawā'iʿ al-turāth al-ʿArabī. Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāṭ, n.d.; ed. Aḥmad Fahmī Muḥammad. Cairo: n.p., 1368/1948, vol. 1, pp. 339–345; ed. Muḥammad b. Fatḥ Allāh Badrān. Silsila fi'l-dirāsāt al-falsafiyya wa'l-akhlāqiyya. 2nd ed., Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlū al-Miṣriyya, 1375/1956, vol. 1, pp. 175–178; ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad al-Wakīl. Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Ḥalabī, 1387/1968, vol. 1, pp. 195–198. Partial English trans., in Edward S. Salisbury, "Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents", pp. 267–272; also in Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, pp. 325–328; partial English trans., A.K. Kazi and J.G. Flynn as *Muslim Sects and Divisions: The Section on Muslim Sects in Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal*. London: K. Paul International, 1984, pp. 167–170. French trans., Daniel Gimaret, Guy Monnot and Jean Jolivet as *Livre des religions et des sectes*. Collection UNESCO d'oeuvres représentatives, série Arabe. Paris: UNESCO; Louvain: Peeters, 1986–93, vol. 1, pp. 560–565. Partial French trans., Jean-Claude Vadet as *Kitāb al-Milal, les dissidences de l'Islam*. Bibliothèque d'études Islamiques, 14. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1984, pp. 315–319. German trans., Theodor Haarbrücker as *Religionsparteien und Philosophen-Schulen*. Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1850–51, vol. 1, pp. 225–230. Persian trans., Afḍal al-Dīn Ṣadr Turka-yi Iṣfahānī (d.

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Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2002. pp. x + 109 (English) + 44 (Arabic) + 397 (Arabic).

Parts of a comprehensive, seven-volume history of the Ismaili *daʿwa* from its beginnings until the opening phase of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman and the subsequent demise of the Fatimid dynasty in 567/1171; *see* Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 170–172. This is also an important history of the Prophet Muḥammad, the early Shiʿi imams, and the Fatimids and their state.

Imām Shāh, Imām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 919/1513), founder of the Imām-Shāhī Satpanth community in India

- *Dasa Avatāra*, complete English trans., G. Khakee, in her doctoral thesis "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan", pp. 62–478.

  This important *ginān* has been preserved and recorded in three separate versions attributed to Pīr Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Imām Shāh. This *ginān* presents the imam as the long-awaited saviour of a Vaishnavite tradition concerning the ten descents (*dasa avatāra*) of the Hindu deity Vishnu through the ages.
- *Mōman Chetāmāni*, selection, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 97–101.
- *Gināns*, selections, English trans., in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 91, 139, 141, and in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 84, 87–88, 97–98, 99–100, 122, 123, 124–125, 127, 128, 134–135.

Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, Abu'l-Qāsim (d. ca. 346/957), Ismaili *dāʿī* and author in North Africa

- *Kitāb al-ʿālim wa'l-ghulām,* ed. and English trans., James Winston Morris as *The Master and the Disciple: An Early Islamic Spiritual Dialogue*. Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 3. London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001. pp. xiii + 225 (English) + 180 (Arabic); ed., M. Ghālib, in his *Arbaʿ kutub ḥaqqāniyya,* pp. 13–75. Summary English trans., W. Ivanow as "The

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Ṣadr al-Dīn, Pīr (fl. end of 8th/14th century), Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India

- *Bāvan Bodh; Sō Kriyā, Sahi Samrani*, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 115–122, also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 63–67.
- *Būjh Nirañjan*, ed. and English trans., Ali S. Asani, in his *The Būjh Nirañjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem,* pp. 120–193.

  Professor A. Asani has refuted the traditional attribution of this lengthy poem of the *ginān* literature on the mystical path to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, considering it rather as an anonymous composition in Hindustani emanating from the Qādirī Sufi circles of South Asia.
- *Dasa Avatāra*, excerpt, covering the tenth *avatāra*, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 112–115.
- *Saloko Nāno*, selections, English trans., A. Esmail, in his *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 151–179, in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 76–79.
- *Ginān*s, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 104–109; in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 69, 71, 85, 87, 89, 91, 101, 107, 109, 111, 113, 119, 121, 123; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp.79, 81–82, 83, 85–86, 90–91, 92, 93–94, 95–96, 101, 104–105, 108–109, 110–112, 113, 114, 119–120, 132, 136, 137, 141–145, 146, 147, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 159–161, 167.

al-Shādilī al-Yamānī, Abū Manṣūr, Syrian Nizārī author

- *Kitāb al-bayān li-mabāḥith al-ikhwān*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-Ismāʿīliyya, 4. Salamiyya: n. p., 1375/1956. pp. 112.

  Divided into seven sections (*mabāḥith*), this work deals with *tawḥīd*, the creation, imamate, ranks of the Ismaili hierarchy, etc. According to I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 297, it is a plagiarized version of Abū Firās Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maynaqī's *Risālat maṭāliʿ al-shumūs*. No biographical details are available on this author.

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- *Tafsīr al-Shahrastānī al-musammā Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār*, facsimile edition of the unique manuscript at the Library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Tehran, with introduction by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ḥā'irī. Tehran: Center for the Publication of Manuscripts, 1368 Sh./1989. 2 vols; ed., Muḥammad ʿAlī Ādharshab. Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Mīrath-i Maktūb and Iḥyā-i Kitāb, 1417–/1997–.

  A partial Qur'an commentary bearing an Ismaili imprint. In this work, produced a few years before 540/1145, al-Shahrastānī fully employs the methodology of Ismaili *ta'wīl*.

Shahriyār b. al-Ḥasan (fl. 5th/11th century), Ismaili *dāʿī* in Persia and Yaman

- *Risāla fi'l-radd ʿalā man yunkir al-ʿālam al-rūḥānī*, ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib, in al-Kirmānī, *Majmūʿat rasā'il*, pp. 183–189.

  This epistle on the spiritual world, written as a reply to al-Sulṭān ʿĀmir b. Sulaymān al-Zawāḥī (d. 492/1099), a tribal leader in Yaman, is commonly but wrongly included in the collection of thirteen *Rasā'il* attributed to Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. After his initial career as a *dāʿī* in Persia, Shahriyār settled in Yaman serving the Ismaili Ṣulayḥids who recognized the suzerainty of the Fatimids.

Shams al-Dīn, Pīr (fl. 7th/13th century), Satpanth Nizārī preacher-saint in India

- *Garbī*, a collection of 28 poems, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, pp. 55–85.
- *Ginān*s, selections, English trans., Vali Mahomed N. Hooda, in his "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature", in W. Ivanow, ed., *Collectanea*, p. 103; an anthology of Pīr Shams's *Ginān*s, including the 28 *Garbī*s, translated by Tazim R. Kassam, in her *Songs of Wisdom*, pp. 165–370; selections also in C. Shackle and Z. Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, pp. 73, 91, 93, 103, 104, 109, 111, 113, 117, 119, 129, 131, 133; in A. Esmail, *A Scent of Sandalwood*, pp. 80, 89, 102–103, 116–117, 118, 130–131, 138, 139–140, 148–149, and in A.S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*, pp. 166–167.

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B. Collective Ismaili Works

- *Taʾrīkh akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*, ed., Suhayl Zakkār. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla and Dār al-Amāna, 1391/1971. pp. 127; 2nd ed., as *Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭa*. Damascus: Dār Ḥassān, 1402/1982. pp. 77 + 483. Includes works by non-Ismaili authors, such as Thābit b. Sinān, al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Ibn Mālik al-Ḥammādī, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn Ẓāfir and Ibn al-ʿAdīm. Our references to this book are to the second edition.
- *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia:* Volume II, *Ismāʿīlī and Hermetico-Pythagorean Philosophy,* ed., Seyyed Hossein Nasr with Mehdi Aminrazavi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. pp. xiii + 400.
- *Arbaʿ kutub ḥaqqāniyya,* ed., Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-Jāmiʿiyya liʾl-Dirāsāt waʾl-Nashr waʾl-Tawzīʿ, 1403/1983. pp. 142.
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- *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq al-Fāṭimiyya*, ed., Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl. al-Wathāʾiq al-taʾrīkhiyya li-Miṣr al-Islāmiyya, 1. Cairo: al-Jamʿīyya al-Miṣriyya liʾl-Dirāsāt al-Taʾrīkhiyya, 1958. pp. 492.

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